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the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may include only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group. In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient—this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two portions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

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mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. Indeed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

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very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives.

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882 883 581 156 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage. The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

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882 883 584 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 [304] Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teenage period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

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881 571 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

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There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

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If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

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general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of followers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, discipline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the district head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to discipline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-

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lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head.

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization.

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area.

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 208 [186] social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 175 578 648 [523] [579] During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled [167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 648 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 105 178 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[934] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalɔ yaskɔ wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about boye, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
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152 knife.

3. Residence.

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593 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

[GEIDAM]

627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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[GEIDAM]

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
672 are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best categorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri culture has always been associated with prestige, and the most learned people were also among the most respected. This is true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
578 referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
672 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best educated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals who, through traditional associations, are involved in the political system but have received little or no Western education.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same compound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts [578] over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
• 578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguineal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resemblance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

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[441] [452] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her [571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the [692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribution of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the most part override this conflict in the system.

438 mai gida (1) who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on
443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
• [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bərzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" (1) by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.